

## ***Explosive Berlin situation***

Daily it becomes clearer that the Soviet Union wants no solution for the Berlin impasse except on its own terms. That the Western Allies should even come to the point of considering "Operation Covered Wagon" to feed the beleaguered city emphasizes the gravity of the crisis. The denial of access by road or rail, the cutting-off of power, the bitter criticism of the air lift, the threats to obstruct the air corridor with blind flying by fighter planes, the patent insincerity involved in tearing up rails on the line into Berlin from the Western zones—all accentuate the Russian desire to have us out of Berlin even at the risk of war. For months the hopeful have told us the Soviets wanted peace, that they were unprepared for war. That appears most doubtful now. Should we make a show of armed power in supplying Berlin, there is a possibility that the Russian bluff would be successfully called. But there is always a possibility that the men in the Kremlin are not bluffing, that they would oppose an Allied convoy with force. That would constitute an act of war. A similar explosive situation exists in Korea, as is recorded elsewhere in these pages. Such belligerent acts at both extremes of the Eurasian Soviet empire are manifest threats to peace. As Major Gen. William Donovan pointed out, there is nothing to prevent Russia from employing the same tactics in Vienna or anywhere else the Soviet has a foothold. Under these circumstances, mounting tension in Europe is to be expected. Men now talk of strategic delays and of maintaining footholds on the Continent. The French are not ready, and would prefer to hold off a showdown for a while longer. Italy is fighting to survive a violent crisis, predicted earlier as the logical sequel to the CP failure in the elections. Southeast Asia has become the object of a new communist drive for power. The strategic objective of all this seems clear—the Soviet Union wants to consolidate its position from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It apparently is confident that we are powerless to halt its expansion in either direction. In the light of such developments, and more especially in view of Tito's charge at the opening of the convention of the Yugoslav Communist Party on July 21 that the Cominform had fomented civil war in his country, protestations by the Kremlin of a desire for peace have an exceedingly hollow and unconvincing sound.

## ***Schuman cabinet falls***

After skating over much thin and treacherous ice since it was formed during the strike crisis last November, the Schuman cabinet fell on July 19 when the Socialists refused to support a military appropriations bill sponsored by the Government. With the Communists supporting the Socialist revolt, Premier Schuman could muster only 214 votes to the opposition's 297. As soon

as the result was announced, he went with his ministers to the Elysée Palace and gave their collective resignation to President Vincent Auriol. What all this will lead to not even the French themselves, who have had as much experience as anybody with forming and breaking cabinets, can possibly say. The only coalition which can achieve a working majority in the Chamber of Deputies is the so-called "Third Force," but it is this coalition, under the leadership of a Popular Republican, which has just failed. It can scarcely have any more chance of success under a Socialist. The Communists want M. Auriol to invite their leader, Maurice Thorez, to head a cabinet composed of Communists and Socialists, but these two groups together do not have a majority, even if the right-wing Socialists, led by Léon Blum, could be brought to stomach the deal. That would appear to leave as a final, desperate possibility a national coalition of some sort, but the divisions in the Chamber are such that even French politicians skilled at the game could scarcely manage it. The elections scheduled for next November may bring a solution, but with the European Recovery Program in full swing and clouds darkening over Berlin, neither France nor her allies can wait until then. The whole Western world can only deplore the failure of the Third Force at this critical time. Before the bar of history, the Socialist leaders who forced the break have a lot to answer for.

## ***Gideon's Army bivouacs at Philadelphia***

On the agenda of the Third Party Convention which met at Philadelphia on July 23 was the choice of a name. Henry Wallace's metaphor for his movement, "Gideon's Army," failed to capture much attention, a fact not too difficult to understand, since Gideon has no standing in the Marxist scripture as promulgated by Stalin. Well in advance of the Philadelphia camp-meeting Simon W. Gerson, legislative representative of the Communist Party in New York State, provided a good tip for the Name-the-Party contest. Supporting the claim of the National Committee of the CP that it had initiated the Wallace Third Party movement, Mr. Gerson, writing in the *Daily Worker* for July 16, boasted that the Commies have been working for that objective in New York State since 1945. Thereupon he proceeded to define the relation of the CP to the Wallace movement as the Party understands it. "In building this great new coalition, we Communists will do our share," promised Mr. Gerson. And then, despite the Kremlin-dictated abandonment of the Popular-Front tactic in Europe, followed this cooing assurance: "Our socialist outlook and firm conviction that only a socialist reorganization of society can bring permanent peace, security and prosperity are no barriers to cooperation with persons of non-socialist convictions in creating this great new alignment." There are difficul-

ties, of course, special problems for the Comrades in New York, whose convention occasioned Mr. Gerson's advice. There is need of "a fundamental change by progressive trade unionists who will have to supply the cadres, candidates, administrators and funds." There is need "to isolate the Social-Democratic, hate-Wallace crowd in the New York labor movement. Centered principally around David Dubinsky's Liberal Party, this group has important connections with top CIO circles and the Americans for Democratic Action." The Communists modestly disclaim any "special position" in Gideon's Army—being content to infiltrate and manage the movement until the moment when, as has been happening monotonously in Europe, the other elements in the Popular Front can be expeditiously liquidated as "socially superfluous." Our advice wasn't sought in the search for a name for Wallace's Party. "Hybrid" came to mind, though.

### **Americans as risk capitalists**

Some of the business propaganda that circulates in this country may have to be revised as the result of a recent study of the propensity to invest, made by the Federal Reserve Board. This country became great, so the story goes, because its citizens were willing to take a chance, the real secret of our success, as contrasted with other countries, being contained in two words—venture capital. Now along comes the Federal Reserve Board and says it just isn't so. As a result of its researches, it discovered that of the nation's 145,000,000 people only 6,000,000 own stocks and bonds, government savings bonds not being counted. It found, furthermore, that the "great majority" of our 48,400,000 families prefer to hold their savings in the form of bank deposits or government bonds rather than invest them in stocks or real estate. And even these findings, though at variance with popular belief, were not the most sensational of the Board's discoveries. After looking over all the figures and analyzing all the interviews, the research experts were forced to the conclusion that of families having \$1,000 or more readily available for investment "income status did not make a vast difference in the investment plans." The next time someone tries to jam through Congress a tax bill that favors the rich on the ground that high taxes on big incomes dry up the sources of venture capital, this last finding is going to cause embarrassment. The fact appears to be that most of the capital needed by industry comes from corporate earnings, supplemented by bank loans, and always has. This whole question of investment needs a great deal more study than has yet been given it.

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### **Communist citizenship again**

With the indictment of twelve top Communist Party members by a special Federal grand jury in New York on charges of conspiring to overthrow the U.S. Government, the way is open for the U.S. Supreme Court to reconsider the stand it took in the famous *Schneiderman* case. On June 21, 1943, the Court upheld the right of a member of the Party to become an American citizen; the argument was that mere membership in the Party was no proof that the individual person advocated the overthrow of the U.S. Government by force and violence; proof of such advocacy, it was held, could be uncontestedly found only in overt acts by the individual. The Court did not then decide the issue whether the Communist Party itself held as a principle the overthrow of the Government by violence. The time has come for this fundamental issue to be decided, and the direction the decision must take becomes daily more clear. To continue, in the face of plain facts in world affairs, to hold that Communists are not obviously committed to the overthrow of all governments not communist, would be stupidly unrealistic. There are different types of force and violence, granted, but what are rigged elections, imposed by terrorism; what is ruthless control through secret police and other well-known communist tactics if not force and violence? And that an American Communist is no less committed to these techniques than his confrère in Moscow is further proved by the recent decree of the Cominform that all Communist Parties must be shaped after the Soviet model (cf. "Communist family unity," *AMERICA*, July 24, p. 359). It is conceivable, of course, that many rag-tag, unthinking members of the Party have no idea of what communism is all about; but that leaders are innocent of knowing that their aim is the overthrow of governments by any possible means, including violence, is unthinkable. At any rate, if the indictment of the communist leaders leads to a conviction, the Supreme Court will undoubtedly have to reconsider its earlier stand. It is to be hoped that, while taking all possible care to safeguard civil liberties, the Court will decide on a basis of reality.

### **Korea makes progress**

Despite the intransigence with which Soviet authorities oppose the idea, marked progress has been made toward Korean unity. The National Assembly, elected on May 10 under the UN Temporary Commission on Korea, has now adopted a new and democratic constitution, reportedly patterned upon American and European systems of government. It calls for a President and Vice President, a Premier, and a unicameral national legislature. In the constitution's 103 articles the rights of individuals are well defined and safeguarded. Economically, the new constitution favors socialization, calling for state ownership of mines, water power, transportation and utilities. But provision is made for acquiring private ownership through a system of licenses. In Korea, state ownership was a rather common phenomenon, both under Korea's kings and later under the Japanese rulers. Next important step for Korea is to establish a national government empowered to implement the Allied decision regarding

the complete independence and sovereignty of the country, even though the Soviets, who have created a totalitarian government in their zone north of the 38th parallel, will oppose this. By constant sabotage of U.S. and UN efforts toward unification, which includes shutting off power from the American zone—essentially the same tactic pursued at Berlin—the Russians have clearly indicated their hostility to Korean freedom. The new Korean government will have to rely, at least for some time, on the United States, both for physical defense and for economic and technical assistance. It is significant, however, that Dr. Syngman Rhee—independence leader for thirty-five years, and now chairman of the National Assembly—has left the door open for understanding with the North and with Soviet Russia. But such a possibility seems far removed for the present.

### **Shameful Straus-Boke rider**

Opponents of reclamation-irrigation policy in California scored a dubious victory in getting the "Straus-Boke" rider to the Interior Department's appropriations bill passed by the Eightieth Congress. Immediate effect of the cleverly worded rider is to remove from office, without charge, two Reclamation Bureau administrators who aroused the ire of big growers by enforcing acreage-limitation provisions of existing law. Both men are of proved administrative capacity. Both believe that large farming corporations should not be subsidized by having the benefit of government-provided water. In the eyes of the subcommittee on Interior Appropriations, both erred by not having five years of engineering experience. The real character of the rider was brought out in the subcommittee minority report. Therein, Senators Carl Hayden of Arizona and Joseph O'Mahoney of Wyoming called it "an unconstitutional attempt by legislative action to remove from office two persons regularly appointed and qualified under existing law." Senator Sheridan Downey, of California, long an opponent of acreage limitations, helped maneuver the rider. In the first session of the Eightieth Congress his bill to have acreage limitations directly repealed, so far as Central Valley is concerned, met with defeat. Now it looks as if the constitutionality of the rider will be tested in the Supreme Court. Friends of reclamation policy contend that the shameful ouster constitutes direct interference by Congress in departmental administrative affairs.

### **Steel falls into line**

Several months ago when the steel industry, led by U. S. Steel, refused to grant a third-round wage increase, on the ground that it would be inflationary and bad for the country, some of us raised puzzled eyebrows. The case for a third-round hike was very strong. A number of industries had already granted one; the climbing cost of living had nullified the second-round advance; productivity was up and profits were at record levels. U. S. Steel rationalized its stand by cutting prices \$25 million—which just about equaled the price increase it imposed a few months before—thus attempting to lead the way to a lower-price level. A drop in living costs, it

rightly argued, would benefit the workers' standard of living more certainly than an increase in wages. The weakness in this reasoning lay, of course, in the inability of U. S. Steel, and the whole industry put together, to do anything about the price of food, which is easily the biggest item in the workingman's budget. Unions in other industries, not bound by a no-strike clause, as was the Steelworkers', had little difficulty in convincing employers that a raise was expedient. When General Motors capitulated, the battle against the third round was over. Now that the steel industry has fallen into line, industrialists ought to re-examine their position on inflation. It is beyond all argument now that voluntary methods are inadequate. In the event, therefore, that big businessmen really want to stop the boom short of a bust, this means that they must seriously consider the advisability of temporary government controls. In case the gentlemen do not realize it, the people have just about lost their patience. They will not be put off much longer by unrealistic slogans and promises unfulfilled. Attention please, U. S. Chamber of Commerce and National Association of Manufacturers.

### **Catholic martyrology under Soviets**

More details about the fate of Catholic prelates in countries under Soviet domination have come to light within the past few weeks. Vatican sources, for instance, disclosed to the *New York Times* on July 1 that Bishop Josaphat Kocylovsky of the Ukrainian Catholic diocese of Peremyshl has died of tortures in a Russian prison. He was one of the seven-member Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy which the Russians have liquidated. The others are Metropolitan Joseph Slipy of Lvov, Auxiliary Bishops Budka and Charnetsky of the same city, Bishop Gregory Khomyshyn and his Auxiliary, Bishop Latyshevsky of Stanislaviv, and Bishop Gregory Lakota, Auxiliary to Bishop Kocylovsky. The latter resided in Peremyshl, a city nominally under Polish administration. When arrested by the Polish police and told to go to Soviet Ukraine, the venerable prelate, maintaining the dignity becoming his office, replied simply: "Rome has given me my diocese, and Rome alone can remove me from my city." He was then seized bodily and taken to a "collecting point," and there handed to Russian agents. The *Annuario Pontificio* for 1948 lists Metropolitan Slipy and Bishop Charnetsky as "deported." Five other Ukrainian prelates, among them Bishop Kocylovsky, were not mentioned at all. Both Bishops Khomyshyn and Lakota are reported to have died in a Soviet dungeon. In its martyrdom for Christ, the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy is not alone. *CIP Correspondence* for July 17, 1948 lists other victims of Soviet persecution. Among them are Bishop Matulionis of Kaisedorys and Bishop Borisevicius of Telsiai of the Baltic States, whose deaths in a Soviet prison have been confirmed by the Vatican. From Lithuania Archbishop M. Reinyas of Vilna has been deported to Russia, while Archbishops G. Skvireckas of Kovnas and R. Jalbrzykowski of Vilna and Bishop Brizgis are in exile. Archbishop A. Springovics of Riga, Latvia, is reported as being under extreme pressure, while Archbishop Profflich of Tallinn, Estonia, has been deported to Russia.



Also missing are some members of the Polish Catholic hierarchy, among them Archbishop E. Baziak of Lvov. The last Catholic prelate of Carpatho-Ukraine, Bishop Theodore Romzha, was killed by a Russian tank under mysterious circumstances last fall.

### **Negro voters in the South**

While the demagogues rage and the politicians meditate vain things, steady, if unobtrusive, progress is being made toward winning complete freedom of the franchise for Negroes in the South. The number of qualified Negro voters in the Southern States has tripled since 1940, reports the Southern Regional Conference; and it is highly improbable that any of the ground gained will be lost. Outside of Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama the picture is distinctly encouraging. In most of the larger cities of Texas, Oklahoma, Tennessee, North Carolina and Virginia, Negroes are able to run for election to city councils, school boards, etc., without incurring any hostility or reprisals. Kentucky has a Negro in the State legislature, and Richmond, Va., one on the city council. "It would be difficult," says the Southern Regional Council's report, "to point to more than a handful of Southern cities with a population of more than 25,000 where there is vigorous opposition to Negroes becoming registered voters." Opposition is strongest in the rural districts, where sixty-five per cent of the Southern Negroes live. While seven States retain the poll tax, it is found to be a significant barrier to voting only in Mississippi, Virginia and Alabama. Perhaps informed opinion in the South is coming to appreciate the fact that arbitrary restriction of the right of suffrage is a short cut to bad government.

### **Footnote on the need for charity**

What does happen to the taxpayer's money? Well, after taxes are paid, out of every \$100 he has left, \$3.50 is spent for whisky. That's what the Treasury Department reports in its analysis of the taxes on alcoholic beverages. Back in 1939, the same taxpayer spent \$2.20; since the war the spending on whisky has risen more than the general income level, so that now the whisky tax is the Government's biggest revenue source in the excise-tax field. The next two biggest sources are cigarettes and beer. It might be good to ponder on these facts a bit, and recall them when next an appeal goes out, say for support of American Overseas Aid, which can still do much to alleviate the undernourishment of the world's children. If private charity is still our duty and privilege (cf. AMERICA, July 24, p. 363), the amounts the average taxpayer spends on hard liquor show that we can well afford to curtail our pleasures at the call of dire need.

### **General of the Armies**

The death of 88-year-old General John Joseph Pershing recalls a momentous career that reads like our post-Civil War military history. One of nine children, Pershing was graduated from West Point in 1886, and saw immediate service against the fabulous Apaches of Geronimo. He almost left the army in the '90's because of the apparent unlikelihood of war "for the next hundred years"!

The Spanish-American War restored his confidence, and as captain of the 10th Cavalry he won extraordinary praise for courage. Married in 1905, he served as observer during the Russo-Japanese war, and in the following year, although 862 officers surpassed him in seniority, was made a brigadier-general by President Theodore Roosevelt. Philippine tribal wars brought him back to those Islands in 1911, and at the outbreak of the European War he was at the Presidio in San Francisco. Ordered to the Mexican border in 1915, he left his wife and four children in the apparent safety of the Presidio rather than subject them to the hazards of the border camp-life. On the evening of Aug. 27, 1915, while still engaged in the fruitless Mexican campaign, he received a tragic message: his wife and three daughters had been burned to death in a fire at the San Francisco Presidio. His infant son, Warren, though badly burned, survived. Chosen in May, 1917 to head the AEF, he began a chapter that made him familiar to the entire world. In 1919, Congress gave him the title "General of the Armies of the United States." Retired in 1923, he retained a passionate interest in military affairs remarkable for his age. He died on July 15 in the nation's capital and was buried four days later, side by side with other national heroes, at Arlington cemetery.

### **Grailville's message**

When Pius XII, several years ago, delivered his now famous address on woman's duties in social and political life, he began by stating what appeared to him as the heart of the problem.

Let Us say at the outset that for Us the problem regarding woman, both in its entirety as a whole and in all its many details, resolves itself into preserving and augmenting that dignity which woman has from God.

Re-emphasizing the dignity of woman and stressing the functions she is eminently fitted to perform in society—that is an integral part of social reconstruction. Hence, many who feel that feminism as we have known it does not get to the heart of the matter are encouraged by growing efforts to form young women to a true appreciation of their dignity. Outstanding among these efforts has been Grailville. There, outside Loveland, Ohio, are periodically conducted the schools of apostolate that deserve to be better known. Woman's task in the modern world is the theme of Grailville's program. Through the "schools" of varying duration, stress is laid as much upon formation as upon information. During the 1948 season, for example, there are scheduled a ten-weeks' school of formation, and seven shorter programs on the spiritual mission of women, on recreation, writing, the lay apostolate, marriage, the visual arts, the problem of women in our society. But for a thorough training in the apostolate of woman, a year of formation is provided. Through it the art of living, centered in Christ, is imparted to those who see value in withdrawing somewhat from the world temporarily in order to gain a clearer perspective. All these Grailville programs are helping to emphasize the dignity of man, so easily forgotten in these neo-barbarous days.



## Washington Front

Broiling heat had a deadening effect on Washington as late July shuffled along toward August. A backwash from the Birmingham convention of Southern rebels blew in across Pennsylvania Avenue to worry the Truman Democrats; dire threats came from Henry Wallace's Third-Party brethren gathered in Philadelphia; and Gov. Dewey's men moved in to open headquarters for his national campaign this fall. Lights burned late in the State Department as experts worried about a possible explosion in Berlin. On Capitol Hill janitors polished mahogany and marble against the return of disgruntled Congressmen who thought Harry Truman a poor sport, indeed, to be hauling them back here just as they were getting used to the air of mountain and seaside.

The chief matter of debate was whether Mr. Truman, in calling the special session beginning July 26, had landed an uppercut on his own chin or on that of his GOP opponents. Critics began to rip him apart for the transparency of his action in issuing the call as a climax to his political speech at the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia. Yet it was fairly clear that Mr. Truman had succeeded in putting the Republicans on the spot in regard to some pressing public issues of the day.

Mr. Truman's weakness was that he had no force for

follow-through. His own party is so torn by factional bitterness that he has little hope of its taking much direction from him. Whether anything comes of the special session may depend in large part on Gov. Dewey.

Mr. Dewey has been titular Republican leader since his 1944 nomination. After his defeat by President Roosevelt that year, though, knowing that Congressmen bristle at being told what to do, he made little effort to press his views on those who would be writing the party record for the next four years. But it may be argued now that because he is newly the Republican nominee on a platform that pledges some of the things Mr. Truman is suggesting in his legislative proposals, he is in position to provide active leadership. That is Mr. Truman's idea.

Herbert Brownell, however, top Dewey adviser, announced on July 20 that this "rump session" of Congress could not be expected to enact the 1948 Republican platform. In this un-cooperative policy there is admittedly a risk, how big a one only time will tell. Any other decision would have involved a risk, too. On the other hand, the Democrats are risking a Southern filibuster against a civil-rights program which would accent again the disunity of the Party, and hence the continuing inability of Mr. Truman to give effective majority party leadership.

As Congress returned there was a deep, underlying fear here: that worsening of relations with the Soviets in Berlin might force it into emergency action unforeseen by Mr. Truman when he called the special session.

CHARLES LUCEY

## Underscorings

July 31, besides being the feast of St. Ignatius Loyola, is this year the 400th anniversary of the first Papal approval of the Ignatian Spiritual Exercises—the Apostolic Letter *Pastoralis Officii* issued by Pope Paul III on July 31, 1548. A commemorative booklet, *Under the Seal of the Fisherman*, edited by Father Zacheus J. Maher, S.J., has just been published by the Jesuit Retreat House, El Retiro San Inigo, Los Altos, California.

► Prefaced by congratulatory letters from Cardinals Dougherty, Mooney, Stritch and Spellman, the booklet gives a brief but comprehensive sketch of the nature and history of the Spiritual Exercises, and touches on the retreat movement in the United States.

► Twenty-one Popes, from Paul III to Pius XII, have praised the Exercises or conferred spiritual favors on those who make them. Especially devoted to the Exercises was Pius XI, who named St. Ignatius Heavenly Patron of all Spiritual Exercises. The Book of the Exercises, said the late Pontiff, "stood forth conspicuous as a most wise and universal code of laws for the direction of souls in the way of salvation and perfection, as an unexhausted fountain of most excellent and solid piety. . . ."

► The first house in the United States for closed retreats

for men was founded on Staten Island, N. Y., by Father Terence Shealy, S.J., in 1911. He had previously conducted retreats at Fordham since 1909. The Society of Jesus now has sixteen retreat houses for men in the United States.

► In a letter to the *New York Times*, July 15, Father Horacio de la Costa, Filipino Jesuit, punctures the myth of the "concentration of vast landed estates in the hands of the Catholic Church" in the Philippines. At the end of the Spanish regime in the Islands, he says, the Catholic Church

owned an aggregate of 400,000 acres of land, or one and one-fifth per cent of the total potential agricultural land area of the country—a proportion, surely, which can scarcely be termed "vast."

This area was further drastically reduced by successive government purchases (1903, 1939, 1941) to 20,427 hectares (approximately 51,000 acres) or three-twentieths of one per cent.

Misapprehensions may arise from the fact that much of the land in question, though no longer in the hands of the Church, is popularly referred to as "friar lands."

► Le Roy a. Wauck, who wrote a plea in AMERICA for better Catholic psychiatric service ("On casting out a devil," Nov. 15, 1947) wrote us recently about Loyola University of Chicago's new Psychological Services Institute, of which he is a member. It is providing the public with the psychiatric and counseling service under Catholic auspices that his article called for. C. K.

# Editorials

## *Congress in session*

Under the circumstances, President Truman's motive for recalling Congress must be regarded as mainly political. This is obvious both from the occasion on which he elected to make the announcement—a speech to the Democratic Convention accepting the Party's nomination for the Presidency—and from his manner of making it. As the following words reveal, the President intends to challenge his opponents, with a view to exposing them before the American public, to make good on their convention platform:

On the twenty-sixth day of July, which out in Missouri we call "Turnip Day," I'm going to call that Congress back, and I'm going to ask them to pass laws halting rising prices and to meet the housing crisis which they say they are for in their platform.

At the same time I shall ask them to act upon other vital measures such as aid to education, which they say they are for; a national health program; civil rights legislation, which they say they are for; an increase in the minimum wage, which I doubt very much they are for; an extension of Social Security coverage and increased benefits, which they say they are for. . . .

Now, my friends, if there's any reality behind that Republican platform, we ought to get some action out of a short session of the Eightieth Congress. They could do this job in fifteen days if they wanted to do it.

That may conceivably be the manner of speech of a President of the United States. It is most certainly the manner of speech of a candidate for that office.

The President's summons to Congress can best be described, from a political viewpoint, as a calculated risk. Without much doubt, he has disrupted the carefully laid plans of his Republican opponent, Governor Dewey. There are serious divisions in the Republican Party, not merely on foreign policy, but on domestic issues as well. According to reports, Governor Dewey had planned a series of conferences with congressional leaders for the purpose of ironing out differences and presenting a united front to the electorate. Now this leisurely strategy must be abandoned. In addition, the Republicans face a difficult decision. Will the Party in Congress, in dealing with President Truman's suggestions for legislation, follow the leadership of Mr. Dewey or that of the congressional bosses who, on certain policies, do not see eye to eye with him? Any way one looks at it, Republican anger over the President's action is understandable.

On the other hand, the President's call to Congress may easily turn out to be a boomerang. Suppose the Republicans, who control both Houses of Congress, decide to begin the session with civil-rights legislation. And suppose, which is very reasonable, that the Southern Democrats then stage a filibuster. After a week or two

of complete futility, what is to prevent the Republicans from adjourning and placing the blame for the failure of Congress to act on the Democrats? The President, it must not be forgotten, has the right to summon Congress, but no power to keep it in session. Congress is the sole judge of whether it will continue to sit or adjourn.

But the President's decision to call Congress back to Washington is a calculated risk in another and more disturbing way. With tension rising over Berlin, the possibility of war is much more real now than it was three or four weeks ago. As the Republicans stated in their platform, politics must stop at the water's edge. The seriousness of the crisis abroad requires that we face it as Americans, not as Democrats and Republicans. What effect will the President's call to Congress have on national unity? Will Republican resentment over Mr. Truman's action lead to reprisals that might endanger our bi-partisan foreign policy?

For the rest, there are very good non-political reasons why Congress should reconvene. The housing crisis is still with us, and day by day the inflationary trend becomes more dangerous. These issues, and several others, cannot be postponed until next January. The people need the help of their Government, and they need it now. They will be watching the politicians of both parties, and about their performance they will have something to say next November.

## *Selective indignation*

In announcing on July 19 the unanimous reaffirmation of the decision of the Board of Superintendents of New York City's public schools not to renew the system's subscriptions to the *Nation*, dropped because of the magazine's anti-Catholic articles by Paul Blanshard, Dr. William Jansen, the Superintendent, added an interesting comment. Himself a Lutheran, Dr. Jansen asserted that neither he nor any member of the nine-man Board had been approached by any group or individual demanding the magazine be discontinued. "The only pressure has been from groups opposing our action," the Superintendent stated.

Selective indignation seems a specialty of many of the letter-head "tolerance" organizations righteously insisting that mean-spirited and monstrously false calumnies against Catholics be spread before school children. Passing over the curious presence at the hearings of a minority group which finds even the singing of Christmas carols offensive to its religious sensibilities, and noting with satisfaction the apology in the December *Commentary*, published by the American Jewish Committee, for its carelessness in printing an advertisement for the *Nation* "appealing to anti-Catholic prejudice," one en-

counters among the protesting organizations names dear to the *Daily Worker*. The justification offered for the attacks on the Church is an interesting one and strangely familiar to an observer of Soviet strategy in, say, Hungary. Mrs. Rose Russell of the Teachers' Union, an organization listed as un-American by a Federal committee, made this reply to the Superintendent of Schools' query why an organization energetic in protesting anti-Negro and anti-Semitic statements in the past should now be defending the *Nation's* anti-Catholic articles:

We make a clear distinction between intelligent and reasonable discussion of controversial issues even when they involve the actual views and actions of a particular group and the irrational stereotypes, whether in word or picture, of Jews and Negroes based on myth and superstition whose object is to turn minority groups into scapegoats.

"Intelligent and reasonable" is the unimpeachable, because self-confessed, quality of splenetic and scatological attacks on Catholics always made—as the dictators say from backstage of the Iron Curtain—"to protect the people's democracy." Attacks on Negroes and Jews, on the other hand, are "irrational."

## UN and Palestine

The United Nations breathed a little more easily on July 18, when Arabs and Jews in Palestine obeyed its cease-fire order. Three days before, after a long and devious trail through the General Assembly and the Security Council, the Palestine case had come to a sharp turning point. The belligerents in that unhappy and strife-torn land had been "urged," "requested," "recommended" to arbitrate their case, to negotiate, to make peace. The latest truce had come to an end on July 9, and war between the Arabs and the Israeli had flared up again. The prestige of the United Nations was challenged; it must rise to the challenge or risk going the way of the League of Nations.

The Security Council acted. Its resolution of July 15 was no plea, request or recommendation. "The Security Council," ran the resolution,

DETERMINES that the situation in Palestine constitutes a threat to the peace within the meaning of Article 39 of the Charter:

ORDERS the governments and authorities concerned, pursuant to Article 40 of the Charter of the United Nations, to desist from further military action. . .

DECLARES that failure by any of the governments or authorities concerned to comply . . . would demonstrate the existence of a breach of the peace . . . requiring immediate consideration by the Security Council with a view to such further action under Chapter VII of the Charter as may be decided upon by the Council. . .

ORDERS as a matter of special and urgent necessity an immediate and unconditional cease-fire in the city of Jerusalem. . .

This was the voice of aroused international authority speaking for the international community. And it was heeded, even though sporadic violence continued after the cease-fire.

The Security Council was intimating that the Arab-Jewish strife had passed beyond the stage where the UN could content itself with peaceful measures of conciliation. Chapter VII of the Charter (Articles 39 to 51) deals with sanctions against nations which fail to heed the mandate to settle their disputes peacefully. These sanctions "may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations." If these prove inadequate, the Security Council "may take such action by air, sea or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security."

The most doubtful point, after the issuing of the Security Council's order, was whether the Arabs would obey it. They were faced with a difficult choice. To submit to the order meant almost certainly giving up their chief and most basic contention—that the Israeli have no right to a sovereign existence in what Arabs say is prescriptively an Arab country. To resist meant to defy the international community. True, they might have banked on the possibility that the UN, like the League, might find itself unable to enforce sanctions. In the end, though with no very good grace, they complied with the Security Council's order.

The prestige of the United Nations has been enhanced by this acquiescence. Doubters will point to the fact that no great Power was directly involved. The hopeful will see a portent of better things in this intervention which caused bitter foes to drop their weapons, even while they were at each others' throats. It is no small thing to stop a war by fiat—even a small war. And with every such intervention, even in small matters, the habit of authority grows, and the habit of obedience.

The great Powers are still, of course, immune to action by the UN. But every intervention among the lesser Powers is a nibbling at that immunity. Some day men may come to see that, for our times, such immunity is anarchic, anomalous, obsolete.

## Double-talk in Birmingham

An unknown wit with a penchant for euphemism dubbed the First World War "the late unpleasantness." Obviously an understatement, it was so received. Occasionally a word or a phrase, in itself venerable, may be used as an attractive lure for a suspect cause. Such an expression is "States' Rights." Many who listened to the radio version of the Democratic Convention were probably puzzled by the impassioned Southern oratory demanding a reaffirmation of States' Rights, which had been missing from the party platform since 1928, and equally puzzled by the firmness with which the Convention rebuffed the Dixiecrats by a 3-1 roll-call vote.

Casual listeners were inclined to regard the Northern attitude as unnecessarily severe. After all, was not the doctrine of States' Rights a Democratic dogma? Prior to the New Deal, and in the sense that States should meet their own internal problems, it was one of the Party's basic principles. At the same time, it had become



equally characteristic of the GOP. It was a conviction founded on the "residual powers" clause that played a great part in President Hoover's attitude towards national recovery. Firm in the belief that the Federal Government could not intervene, Hoover advised each State to deal with the economic débâcle in its own way.

Unfortunately, the Hoover attitude, however steeped in tradition, was inadequate. Unparalleled unemployment demanded action beyond the power of State competence. As a result, the New Deal relief measures put a quietus to the venerable doctrine of States' Rights in the sense described.

But the term is equivocal, like so many other political expressions. No one should imagine that the States' Rights doctrine of the 'twenties and earlier is the same as that demanded by the Southerners in the recent convention. This time the issue was whether or not the Democratic Party would endorse the President's civil-rights program, which asked for appropriate Federal legislation against lynching, poll taxes, racial segregation and discrimination in employment. Southern politicians demanded a re-emphasis of the States' Rights doctrine only to the extent that each State should be allowed to deal with its racial problem in its own way. In a second roll-call vote, the South lost. Hence the Birmingham revolt.

It is well to recall with Arthur Krock of the *New York Times* that the two leaders of the revolt, Mississippi and Alabama, are not consistent with their 1932 policy. In that year, Mississippi with 20 votes and Alabama with 24 voted against a States' Rights issue by a composite vote of 41-3. The fact that less than one-sixth of Mississippi's potential voters took part in the election of 1944 inclines one to believe that the Birmingham revolt represents a minority of Southern politicians fighting for personal survival rather than true Southern sentiment. We hope this is true. At any rate, the histrionics of alleged spokesmen for the South during the national convention left the nation cold. Behind the mask of States' rights lurked the real issue of white supremacy with its attendant feudal aberrations, and it is a tribute to the Democratic Party that it refused to underwrite such obvious hypocrisy. The fact that the Republicans have endorsed a similar program on civil rights offers no relief from that source, and, even were the GOP favorable to the Southern position, preemption of most of the Southern electoral vote because of the curious one-party system typical of most of Dixie would still bar mass allegiance to the Republican standard.

At this writing it appears that the Birminghamites may be able to swing all of Mississippi's and some of Alabama's electoral vote in support of their candidate, Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina. Why the revolvers seek refuge in a new and impotent body is a mystery. The same ends could be as easily satisfied by recourse to an old-fashioned filibuster, at which device Southern orators are without peer. If, ultimately, the Democrats should lose Southern support, that might be a long-term blessing, for both. It might lead to a political realignment that would more realistically reflect divisions in the country than does the present system.

## FTC on book advertising

Something new has hit the book world. For the first time, the Federal Trade Commission has issued complaints against three major book clubs and one publisher on the ground that some of their advertising is "false, misleading and deceptive." Such, says the Commission, is the advertising which promises to give away "free" a book or books to persons joining a book club or to distribute a "dividend" book at intervals during membership. Nothing can really be called "free," the Commission holds, if it is given only upon purchase of something else.

The clubs and the publisher concerned must reply to the complaints within twenty days, and will appear before FTC in Washington on August 6 to show cause why a cease and desist order should not be issued. All under the charge have stated that they will fight the thing through to the highest courts, if necessary.

The interpretation of the word "free" by FTC may or may not be unduly narrow; that is not the real significance of the action. The significance lies in the fact that FTC has turned its attention for the first time to the book industry in its advertising aspects. And that means that the very thing publishers as a whole dread most (and with great justification)—namely, censorship or control from without the industry—comes a perceptible step nearer. And that, in turn, means that publishers ought to hear a provocative little whisper telling them to clean up, make honest, de-exaggerate, their advertising before some agency, the FTC or another, steps in and does it for them.

For there is a need for all those improvements. By and large, book advertising is on a good moral plane, but that general excellence is exactly what makes the occasional lapses so inexcusable. Why must there be a dozen books a year, and from reputable houses, decorated with sexy jackets? Such advertising and promotion may not, indeed, fall within the competence of FTC to control, but it does continue to stir the feeling in many groups that something ought to be done about it. Indeed something ought, but it ought to be done by the publishers themselves.

Further, there is a type of advertising which the FTC is competent to monitor, and that is plain exaggeration. Over and above the handful of books whose advertising may offend morally, there are hundreds which are advertised in a "false, misleading and deceptive" way. Publishers ought to see that if they do not take steps to curtail such ballyhoo they are inviting the thunderbolt.

It is regrettable that books in the American scene are subjected to the same advertising technique as are razor blades, lipstick, deodorants and cereals but, so long as they are, then their advertising ought, logically, to be under the same control for the protection of the public.

If publishers are anxious to escape this logical conclusion, it would seem but the dictate of prudence to put their own houses in order before some strong-arm group of cleaners moves in on them.

## Behind the split In Italian Labor

Benjamin L. Masse

On July 16 the Associated Press reported from Rome that the General Confederation of Labor (CGIL), which claims seven million members, was breaking up. In a letter to CGIL's communist-dominated executive board, two Christian Democrat leaders, Giulio Pastore and Luigi Morelli, and the president of the Association of Catholic Workers of Italy, Ferdinando Storch, denounced the general strike called to protest the shooting of Palmiro Togliatti as political and contrary to the Confederation's constitution. They called for the formation of an autonomous union "free of all party influences." The same day Barrett McGurn, Rome correspondent for the New York *Herald Tribune*, quoted Premier Alcide de Gasperi as saying that Italian workers had lost patience with the communist-called political strikes which have kept Italy in turmoil for the past year and might create a new instrument to protect their economic interests. Reading between the lines, with some knowledge of the background of Italian labor, one would be safe in predicting that the CGIL is about to split wide open. Should this come to pass, the Marshall Plan will have scored another bloodless victory over the fanatical imperialists in Moscow.

Before Mussolini bluffed and bulldozed his way to control, Italian trade unionism conformed to the pattern which prevails over most of Western Europe. There existed a large, dominant organization controlled by Socialists, and a somewhat smaller group which took its inspiration from Christian social teaching. Both labor federations had close political relationships, the former with the Socialist Party, the latter with Don Sturzo's Popular Party. With the advent of fascism, which permitted no free trade unionism, both groups were forced to dissolve.

The reason for this dual unionism, which most American labor leaders find difficult to understand and with which, until the past year or two, they have had little sympathy, lies in the nature of trade unionism in continental Europe. From the very beginning of modern labor organization, unlike the situation which prevailed here, European unions were "ideological." They were founded not so much to improve the wages, hours and working conditions of their members within the existing economic framework, as to change that framework. Most of them were Marxist and committed to a socialist organization of production. They were also—because such is the nature of Marxism—anti-religious and materialistic, inspired by doctrines on marriage and the family, on education, on society and the state which are at variance with Christian doctrine and tradition.

Under such circumstances, Catholic workers had no choice but to create their own unions, and this is what happened in France, Belgium, Holland, Italy and else-

*"Like the French Socialists who withdrew from the CGT and formed the Force Ouvrière, the Christian workers of Italy, given the choice of withdrawing from the CGIL or subordinating democratic integrity to a purely fictitious unity, can come to only one decision."*

where. Eventually, these Christian trade unions formed an international organization—the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions—which only a few weeks ago was granted a consultative relationship by the International Labor Office. In a few places, however, trade unionism was not dominantly ideological, and the question arose whether Catholic workers might join such neutral, bread-and-butter organizations. After considerable controversy, the Holy See decided that, where no danger to the faith existed, Catholic workers might join such unions, the decision in every case resting with the local Ordinary.

Developments in the postwar labor situation in Italy cannot be understood apart from this historical and doctrinal background.

Following the liberation of Rome, and before the war was over in the north, Italian labor leaders met to plan the resurrection of free trade unionism. By this time it was clear that the major political divisions would follow "ideological" lines—socialist, communist, Christian Democrat—and such labor leaders as survived fascism and the war, and who remembered the pre-Mussolini days, naturally asked themselves whether it would be to the advantage of Italian workers to carry over these divisions into the trade-union movement. Their decision being in the negative, they agreed to form a single labor federation, *Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro* (CGIL), which would be non-political, non-ideological and devoted purely, as far as this is possible, to the economic welfare of its members.

To this decision Christian labor leaders, with the permission of ecclesiastical authorities, gave a sincere but reluctant consent, as Pope Pius made clear in a significant address on March 11, 1945. (Cf. *Catholic Mind*, December, 1947, pp. 707 sq.) Addressing delegates to the first convention of the newly formed Italian Catholic Workers' Association (ACLI), which was established as the labor division of Catholic Action to provide moral and religious training for workers, His Holiness said:

A single trade-union organization was recently established in Italy. We cannot but expect and hope that the sacrifices made by the Catholic workers through their adherence to it will bring no harm to their cause, but will bear the fruit hoped for, to the benefit of all workers. This entails the fundamental prerequisite that the trade unions shall confine themselves to the limits of their essential mission, which is that of representing the workers and defending their interests in labor disputes. In carrying out this activity the unions naturally exercise a certain influence on politics and on public opinion, but they could not exceed these limits without causing great injury to themselves.

Elaborating this warning, which seemed intended for the Communists and their left-wing socialist allies, the Holy

Father condemned attempts to gain complete control over the lives of the workers, to stir up class hatred, or to use the CGIL as a means of promoting an unethical socialization of industry and eventual worker domination of the government. Recalling the negotiations which led to agreement on a single labor federation, he reminded the leaders of the CGIL that they had publicly recognized the contribution of Catholic workers and paid "high tribute to the Christian inspiration and spiritual activity which they spread within the Confederation, to the good of all."

Closing on a hopeful note, His Holiness gave the CGIL an inspiring concept of trade-union activity:

The time has come to repudiate empty phrases, and to attempt to organize the forces of the people on a new basis; to raise them above the distinction between employers and would-be workers, and to realize that higher unity which is a bond between all those who cooperate in production, formed by their solidarity in the duty of working together for the common good and filling together the needs of the community. If this solidarity is extended to all branches of production, if it becomes the foundation for a better economic system, it will lead the working classes to obtain honestly their share of responsibility in the direction of the national economy. Thus, thanks to such harmonious coordination and cooperation, thanks to this closer unity of labor with the other elements of economic life, the worker will receive, as a result of his activity, a secure remuneration, sufficient to meet his needs and those of his family, with spiritual satisfaction and a powerful incentive towards self-improvement.

The date of this address, as I have said, was March 11, 1945. Clearly, the Holy Father was willing to give the Communists and their socialist colleagues the benefit of every doubt. There would not be two worlds in Italian labor unless the enemies of the Church wanted it that way. If a split did come, the Communists, not the Pope, would be responsible.

In the three years which have elapsed since the founding of the CGIL, the perfidy of the Communists and the Nenni Socialists has become increasingly evident. Even before the general strike called a few hours after the attempted assassination of Togliatti, and which was plainly revolutionary in purpose, the Communists had repeatedly used their control of the CGIL to further the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, to sabotage the Marshall Plan, to exert political pressure and to terrorize the Italian people. If they have not yet been able to use the CGIL as a battering ram to power, that is due solely to the firmness of the Government and the opposition of the workers themselves. For this show of democratic independence on the part of rank-and-file workers, right-wing socialist leaders are somewhat responsible. But the chief credit must go to the Catholic Workers Association, the founding and growth of which is one of the most heartening features of postwar Italy.

The situation, then, had greatly changed when for the second time, on June 29, the Holy Father addressed representatives of the Catholic Workers Association. ACLI had come of age—thirty thousand were on hand that day in the Belvedere cortile of the Vatican—the leaven was working in the masses and new leaders were

being trained in hundreds of schools throughout Italy. On the other hand, the Communists, beaten by a big majority in the April election, had become increasingly desperate. With practically no effort at concealment, they were now calling one political strike after another—the object being the downfall of the de Gasperi Government and the defeat of the Marshall Plan. Would the Holy Father use this occasion to announce that the attempt at labor unity in Italy had failed, that the Communists had violated their promises, and that, accordingly, Catholic workers would no longer be permitted to belong to the CGIL? Italy waited and wondered.

The Pope began his address with a well-merited tribute for the long way the men and women of ACLI had come in a short three years. They had deepened the sources of their own religious lives, they had become apostles to others, their publications and schools were exercising an ever increasing influence, their works of charity were praised everywhere, they had brought beauty and Christian nobility to many an Italian home. But though great progress had been made, many dangers lay in the way of the young organization. These could be avoided only if the members of ACLI remembered the purpose for which the organization was founded. And what was this objective?

Your ultimate purpose is the formation of authentic Christian workingmen, equally distinguished for skill in the practice of their profession and for fidelity in the practice of their religion; men who are capable of reconciling harmoniously the stubborn defense of their economic interests with the strictest sense of justice, and with the sincere disposition to collaborate with the other classes of society toward Christian reconstruction in every walk of social life.

The success of the labor movement itself, the Holy Father continued, lies in seeking the same goal. Should it aim instead at capturing the machinery of the state, or fostering class hatred, should it call strikes for political ends, it would betray the hopes of every decent, conscientious workingman. In that event, the members of ACLI "would certainly not fail to fulfill their duty of vigilance and action, as the gravity of the situation might require." And the Pope significantly recalled his words of March 11, 1945:

We spoke of the relations between the ACLI and the single labor federation. The latter was and is an experiment, which proves to what extreme limits the Catholic workmen have driven themselves in their desire to collaborate. You, beloved children, have given plain proof of this willingness, because you see in the labor union as such a solid support for economic society in our times, so recognized more than once in the social doctrine of the Church.

The meaning of all this was clear enough: the communist leaders of the CGIL, by betraying the purpose of the organization, as well as their pledged word, were risking its dissolution.

The warning was not lost on the Stalinists. All over Italy the communist press reacted violently to the Holy Father's address, *Unita* setting the tone by charging the Pope with "interfering in labor union affairs." Two weeks later, however, following the shooting of Togliatti, the insincerity of the Communists and left-wing Socialists



became apparent. The call for a general strike, with its revolutionary overtones, justified every word of warning the Holy Father had uttered. The strike was a flop because hundreds of thousands of workers refused to have anything to do with it. If those workers are now preparing to withdraw from the CGIL and establish their own organization, the Kremlin's agents in Italy are alone to blame. Like the French Socialists who withdrew from the

## Two approaches to progress

A priest may be somewhat puzzled by the questions a Catholic scientist can ask him, such as: "I am working in a research laboratory, making and writing down hundreds and hundreds of observations. These observations have no connection whatever, it seems, with religious thought or religious life. They will be compiled by another scientist, probably handed on to a third and to a fourth. What does all this work add up to for a Christian? Does he save his soul by counting the atoms in a cell, or the crystals in a stone? Does he work for God?" That is the question which arises in regard to worldly research and spiritual progress.

The first answer—a subjective one and also the most common—would be to tell the scientist that, since his vocation is science, the study of the organization of matter, he must go on with his work in a conscientious spirit, do his duty and, through the moral asceticism demanded by scientific pursuit with its inescapable monotony, achieve his perfection and forge his character so as to become a better candidate for the Kingdom of God.

Such an answer, right as it may be, evades the main problem and leaves the question open: is the construction of the world, of *this* world, unrelated to the problem of Christian perfection? Is secular or lay activity in itself only secondary to religious thought? Have the two any points in common?

This question is all the more important because today human research and scientific discoveries are being pursued so industriously by so many that the face of the world is changing more rapidly than ever before. The atomic age has come, with all its fears and hopes.

The question asked at the beginning of this discussion has, of course, not been left without other answers.

The answer given by atheistic scientists we will merely mention in passing. Marxist technicians, or pure scientists, put all their hope in this world and therefore declare it the duty of every man to pursue the only progress they recognize—the organization of a better material world by a ceaseless searching out of the secrets of science, and the use of those secrets to promote greater freedom and comfort for mankind. The most obscure scientist who aids in a discovery by merely checking observations, and the most obscure worker on the as-

sembly line, are equally important to the famous inventor, because each is necessary in the building of the golden age which is at last to be achieved—though, of course, they might go mad from the kind of monotony depicted in the Chaplin film, *The City Lights*.

But can the Christian philosopher share that vision of a purely earthly hope? Is he to believe in the salvation of man by man? Must he share that faith in man and in the world?

Two fields of thought exist on this difficult question among Christian thinkers and, since each philosophic group claims orthodoxy for its position, neither can be by-passed. The arguments of each must be examined.

### I

The first group, which includes many a renowned biologist, physicist, geologist and anthropologist, is frankly devoted to the idea of human progress. Most of these scientific philosophers profess a *doctrine of continuity*; they believe in a more or less evolutionary progress of humanity toward a knowledge of the world, toward a unification and development of mankind that will make it ready for its final transformation in the distant future. Let us call this the school of continuity.

This transformist, or evolutionary, theory, which has long been considered the most dangerous weapon of atheistic science against Christian dogma, is now taking hold of many a Christian mind. Many great religious thinkers, as well as many a member of the hierarchy, are considering this evolutionary theory not only with curiosity but with sympathy. There is nothing in the idea of the proper progress of mankind, they feel, that is derogatory of the glory of God or the teaching of Christ. More, they feel that the perfection of the Creator's plan is greatly emphasized by unfolding a wonderful perfection of order and harmony between His creatures of different kinds on earth. In scientific discovery of the processes of life, the immensity of time and space, they see revealed the majesty of the Lord, and recognize in man the image of God which is spoken of in the Bible. Faith in man is for them the preparation, the approach to faith in God. After all, does not any apologetics take for granted a belief in human reason—which is a kind

Father Raymond Jouve, S.J., Editor-Manager of the French magazine *Etudes* and Secretary General of the *Syndicat de la Presse Périodique* (association of periodical publications) has returned to France after several months spent in observing conditions in the United States.

Raymond Jouve

of faith in man? Without that belief in reason, what would reason's arguments amount to?

It is easy to cite, so far as Europe is concerned, names in support of this philosophy: Bergson, Teilhard, de Laparent, de Broglie, Muckerman, Blondel, Msgr. Delepine, Canon Dorlodot Culhot—most of them prominent Catholics.

This school, of course, is receptive to all scientific investigation, especially to such sciences as paleontology, geology, geophysics, astronomy and physics, which have so greatly broadened our concepts of the size of the world. They find also in the indeterminacy which we now recognize in the laws of nature an approach to spiritual freedom.

Recent discoveries regarding atomic energy and the disintegration of matter, the use of such tremendous telescopes as that of Palomar, the invention of the electronic microscope, which enables us to examine atoms in new perspectives, are to these philosophers wonderful approaches to the greatness of mankind and consequently of God's designs. They have for them a spiritual value.

In such a philosophy of continuity, the physical world is the necessary material for the achievements of man, and man, by reciprocal action, is the necessary instrument of the development of the world. So important to them is the world that they consider it the duty of every man to work to discover it, and to work whole-heartedly to bring it to fullest perfection. To this school of thought, the Christian is not yet fully a Christian—a proposition on which everyone will agree. Man is not yet man, and the world is not yet the world, until all discoveries have been made and all work is done which depends on future discoveries. These factors are so closely connected that they must be considered together, if we wish to see a real fulfillment of the world, the man and the Christian. Claudel in poetry and literature has given his views on this concept, especially in the *Legende de Prâkriti*.

In this view, there is so such thing as a negligible worldly discovery. Every effort, even the slightest, leads to the goal. Thus we see this school in agreement with a historical concept of the development of mankind. Its members share the enthusiastic hope of Marxists for ever greater progress of mankind and the world, but they differ decidedly from their dialectical materialism, in that to them the ever-growing liberation of the spirit is the natural end of the evolutionary process. They make their own the perspective of St. Paul, "*nihil intentatum*" ("leave nothing untried") and the return of the transformed world by Christ to God, which Paul describes to the Corinthians: "And when all things are made subject to Him, then the Son Himself will also be made subject to Him who subjected all things to Him that God may be all in all" (I Cor. 15:28).

This return of the world cannot happen, however, until it is completely conquered by man, "humanized," and is thus in condition to accept, after the manifestation of the spirit, the manifestation of God, the Parousia and Pleroma.

As the first developments of life have culminated in consciousness and spirit, the next step and the last shall

bring Charity. And for that final reign of Charity two movements must be combined—a movement toward progress forward and one toward progress upward. Love of the future and love of God must be rightly associated if any progress worth the name is to be achieved.

## II

But, as we have mentioned before, there is also among Christians of the utmost orthodoxy another philosophical position regarding this world of unceasing discovery, of marvels ever new, of increasing comfort and greatness. Fixing their attention principally on heavenly truths and the supernatural life, taking the lessons of the Gospel, the homilies of the Fathers and the warnings of the prophets as the point of departure for their professional stand, these Christian thinkers do not quite share the enthusiasm of the others for worldly science. These emphasize the story of the tree of knowledge of good and evil in the first chapter of Genesis, and the banishment of our first parents from Paradise for having been too curious about the world. To them, science may seem an arrogant attempt to deprive God of His secrets; they quote the Acts of the Apostles: "It is not yours to know the times and manners that the Father has determined by His own authority" (Acts 1:8).

They live in familiar contact with the Apocalypse and the eschatological passages of the Scriptures; they study the drastic texts of the great mystics, and prefer the "obscure light" of St. John of the Cross to an enlightened and ever clearer view of this world.

It is easy to conceive what the thought of these thinkers



may be about the discoveries of science and the ever-growing developments of technology. They are the philosophers of a rupture with the world. Since to them the great temptation of modern times is to believe in the "salvation of man by man," they will meet the temptation head-on by rejecting the infinite curiosity of science as a draught too strong and too

dangerous for the human mind and mankind.

They are inclined to see the dangers of science rather than its greatness and majesty. They speak of the belief in progress unenlightened by faith—and, for many a scientist, if faith is not altogether excluded from his researches, it is too often ignored—as the great heresy of modern times, as the capital sin of our days and the major obstacle separating God from man.

In their view, materialist man feels himself the creator of his own world, and not without reason. But this is precisely to rob God of one of His essential attributes. In a word, all that is given to man is denied to God: such seems to be the central thought of the "rupture" school.

Thus the danger of science and technology—the latter deriving from the former—is that it may bring man to worship his own work, and thus to worship him-

self; so it may end by becoming a "technology of sin."

The theory of evolution, they say, has induced human intelligence to renounce its divine affiliation. Man has progressed from the idea of magic and alchemy to an enslavement to scientific materialism; while concern with the temporal has slowly erected a monstrous economy in which man is at the same time cut off from heaven and uprooted from earth.

The atomic bomb is, in their eyes, the weapon of death and the sour fruit of Occidental science exploding among the religious civilizations of Asia; they deny any spiritual significance in this tremendous discovery. The bomb clearly demonstrates, according to them, the power of dissolution held by atheistic science in the world of souls.

That there is a danger of the kind this school sees, is certain; but because an action is dangerous, must we refrain from it, when there is reasonable ground for doing it? Can we not apply to moral or spiritual dangers the things our moralists say about the physical danger to life in the fields of medicine and war and sport?

From these points made by the "rupture" school, we can see how much they differ from the "continuity" school.

We might add, however, that the latter position regarding progress and technology seems to risk falling into another temptation—the temptation to despair. If all the attempts of man to build a coherent world fail to bring man to an explanation of the world, and an explanation of man to himself, there is no hope of escaping from our prison. Thus we are brought to the Existentialist position of Sartre. Christian Existentialists, however, like Gabriel Marcel, have found a way to hope, through the admission of original sin and the redemption.

Eschatologists distrust this world and its progress, but trust God and His saints all the more. The only way in which they can recognize the development of the scientific world is to ask what in it is capable of being consecrated by the Church.

But while the progressive thinkers admit that the work of man in this world—discovery, research, organization in the fields of scientific, philosophical, social and esthetic work—is in itself a march toward God, even if an unconscious one, the Existentialists and the eschatologists do not give a proper value to progress or a proper place in human affairs. The world, for them, is only a passing, unreal transient state of things, a symbol of the reality, which is transcendent. It has no value in itself; it is merely a drilling ground for man.

The reality of the world is, in the end, the question to be determined. "We have not here a lasting city," say the eschatologists. This world finally passes.

The progressives, on the other hand, say: "Nothing human is foreign to us, since we are men." The time will come when everything will be given to Christ, and through Christ to God. Meanwhile the thing to do is not to despise this world, or its science and technology, but to be even more interested in them than are the non-believers: "*plus et ego*."

The foregoing comparison shows how both schools of

thought quote texts from St. Paul, who conveniently supplies arguments to each of the two antagonistic positions. Thinkers like Maritain, who is a medievalist and believes in a return to Thomism as the best road to true modernity; and Marcel, the Existentialist; Louis Massignon, a professor of Moslem civilization and mysticism; and many more contributors to the *Dieu Vivant* quarterly, belong to the "rupture" school.

Must Catholics now make a choice between the two schools (of which I have been able to present only imperfect sketches)? As both are orthodox, it would seem not. However, a little further exploration of each school with regard to its consequences as a profession of faith may be in order.

Socially, first. The "rupture" school, in that it underates the value of human science, is not inclined to favor people's aspirations for more freedom, for the greater comfort arising from more standardized work and better organization. The "progression" or "continuity" school, on the other hand, will be behind every effort to promote the self-respect of the working class and will manifest enthusiasm for appropriate changes in its condition.

Spiritually, the "progressive" group will admire chiefly those saints and great men who have been deeply concerned with improvement of social conditions. Business saints, we might call them—such as St. Vincent de Paul, St. Francis de Sales, Don Bosco, St. John Baptist de La Salle, Saint Francis Xavier, or Borgia; while the eschatologists will be devoted to St. John of the Cross and Saint Francis of Assisi, who rejected this world's goods.

If we compare the material world with the simple but eternal symbol so often chosen by Our Lord—bread—we could say, to put it briefly, that the "continuity" thinkers would rather be the leaven in the bread; while the other school would be the voice of the consecrating words of the Mass. In the case of the first group, the bread is transformed by an internal process according to the laws of nature; in the second instance, the transformation is effected by supernatural means.

In conclusion: so long as a choice between the two positions is not mandatory, it is permissible for any Christian to take the position he prefers. The choice will depend on each man's inclination, character and mode of thought, rather than on the force of objective truth to be discovered in either camp.

The choice made will probably depend, to a great extent, on one's previous education and mental training. Those better acquainted with natural science will ally themselves with the "continuity" group, in which they find friends of their own background and mode of thought. Those trained chiefly in philosophy, theology and metaphysics will prefer the eschatologists. While this may look like an easy answer, it seems the best and the most practical until the controversy is settled and points separating the two schools have been cleared up.

In the meantime both schools will continue to work, each in the direction it thinks best, bolstering their positions with ever new arguments. After all, perhaps, progress—true progress—will never be achieved except through the clash of these two spiritual forces.



# Literature & Art

## In memoriam: Georges Bernanos

**Ernst Erich Noth**

Ernst Erich Noth, author of *Bridges over the Rhine*, published by Henry Holt last fall, was born in Berlin, but left Germany for France when Hitler came into power. Mr.

Noth is the author of eleven books, fiction and non-fiction, mostly written in French.

Georges Bernanos was a rock of faith and loyalty in the floods of partisan passion in his native France. He rose high above factional turbulence to become a spiritual guide for souls lost in a night of confusion and terror. Even his adversaries have been shocked by his death into realizing, or at least reluctantly acknowledging, the unique stature of this great Catholic writer and prophet. So powerful was his voice, so noble his message, so bold his attitude, that he has been hailed as one of the most authentic representatives of Christian chivalry in our time.

Here was uncompromising, yet unassuming honesty in its purest form, a perfect identification of the man and his books, of a life and its work. Bernanos did not belong to any literary "school," nor did he create one. His tone, style and message are distinct from the work of contemporary Catholic writers like Claudel and Mauriac. Of all definitions, he would have accepted only the one that he was a Christian and a Frenchman. Proud of that heritage, he was lucidly aware of the responsibilities the possession and defense of these gifts had placed upon him.

Bernanos was not the favorite author of the conformists. Political extremists and middle-of-the-road opportunists both were likely to resent his intransigent stand for the basic Christian principles and ideals of justice. A champion of human dignity, he stood his ground against the corrupting powers of materialism, violence and arbitrary social order as a Christian, for the honor of his faith. His message was liberty in justice, and he waged a relentless struggle against the demons Contempt and Fear, who conspire to undermine the Citadel by delivering mankind into the bondage of despair.

For all their newness and originality, Bernanos' novels and essays—among the latter are the most powerful pamphlets France has known since the days of the Dreyfus Affair—contain, in perfect blend, the verve of a Drumont, the virile elegance of a Barrès, the radical integrity of a Bloy, the keen spiritual grasp of a Maritain. Unusual daring of imagination, complexity of plot, subtlety of motivation, inventive richness of vocabulary and a most unorthodox poetic style give lasting value to his work.

Yet, the author of *Diary of a Country Priest* and *The Great Cemeteries under the Moon* entered the field of literature comparatively late. He was 36 years old when

he wrote his first novel, *Under the Star of Satan*, an immediate success which brought him world-wide recognition, and was followed by the novels *Joy* and *The Impostor*, by *The Story of Mouchette*, *A Crime* and *Monsieur Ouine*. Among his chief pamphletary essays, *The Great Cemeteries under the Moon* is outstanding, while the earlier *The Great Fear of the Conformists* and the later war-born *Letters to the English and France against the Robots*, will long continue to be challenging and significant contributions to the vital debate of our time which sets the defenders of individual freedom and political liberty against the mouthpieces of totalitarianism. Shortly before his death, Bernanos published excerpts from his diary under the title *Le Chemin de Croix des Ames*, covering the war years from 1940 to 1944.

Charity, dignity, honor constituted the *Leitmotiv* of Bernanos' message and the pillars of his work as well as of his life. He knew and served well his Lady Poverty. His factual and transcendent, intimate and spiritual knowledge was not acquired only through sensibility and intuition. Personal experience played a considerable part. For Lady Poverty was a faithful companion throughout his tormented, dangerous, yet enchantingly rich life.

I vividly remember what Bernanos said to me, on that subject, ten years ago in Aix-en-Provence:

Yes, I know the most terrifying aspect of poverty, the most awful, which makes poverty so horrible. I mean the tragic solitude in which she often forces human beings to live and to die. The problem of poverty has always obsessed and haunted me. I have always felt the impulse to protect. I feel compelled always to take the defense of the poor against the rich, of the weak against the strong. This attitude is entirely human and spiritual, and utterly unrelated to any social or political program whatsoever. I want poverty to be respected, not humiliated, her honor unstained. The solitude of the poor man, result of ambient contempt and lack of understanding, crushes him under a frightful burden. If there is so marked an inferiority of one individual in regard to another, or of an individual with respect to a social institution, it results in a dangerous rupture of equilibrium, which is both inhuman and un-Christian. There is nothing more fearsome than the experience of moral solitude in a situation of absolute poverty. The temptation of despair, deadliest of all sins. . . .

This statement was made by a man generally considered to belong, politically speaking, to the "Right." No party

stamp, though, would do justice to the complex, dynamic and strong personality of Bernanos, who always adhered to the Christian idea of brotherhood and rejected the sordid companionship of resentment, which all too often binds together political fanatics. It is a fact, however, that, as a young man, Bernanos belonged to the circle of the monarchist-activists (*Action Française*), which he later opposed with uncompromising energy; that he was personally close to the Count of Paris, the unrecognized Pretender to the French throne; and that he was sympathetic, during these last years, to the movement of General de Gaulle.

On the other hand, there is no indictment of the inhuman aspects of the fascist brand of totalitarianism that could be more outspoken and more defiant than Bernanos' *The Great Cemeteries under the Moon*, and there is scarcely a more impassioned testimony in favor of individual and political freedom than his last writings, especially *France against the Robots*. A true conservative, Bernanos was not concerned with perpetuating caste privileges, but with upholding and maintaining an organic society based on social justice and the inalienable rights of the individual to freedom and self-respect. In one of his last published articles, he wrote:

Liberty is there, by the side of the road, but you pass by without turning your heads. Nobody recognizes the sacred instrument, the great organ, furious and tender. They want to make you believe that the organ is out of order. Do not believe it! If your hands would only touch the keyboard, the sublime voice would again fill the world. Don't wait! Don't let the magnificent instrument rot in the wind, the rain, under the jeers of the passers-by!

Bernanos' ancestors, on his father's side, came from Spain, reaching France via San Domingo, settling first in Lorraine, then moving on to the Artois region in Northern France, which is the scene of most of his novels. After World War I, in which Bernanos served as a simple soldier, having volunteered in spite of a serious ail-

ment, he went to Paris. His family was ruined by the war; he had to earn a living as a traveling insurance salesman. His restlessness stems from this period, his curiosity for other countries. From the time he began publishing his books, he was on the road. He lived in Spain, North Africa, Paraguay, Brazil, and was, for many years, France's most prominent expatriate. The main part of the war years he spent in the Brazilian jungle, leading the precarious existence of a small farmer, praying for France and his eldest son, who had been one of the first soldiers to join de Gaulle. Bernanos had foreseen and foretold the fall of France, and known all the sorrow and bitterness of an unheeded, even scorned, prophet.

Only sixty years old, Georges Bernanos died on July 5, after an operation, in the American Hospital in Neuilly, Paris, three years after his return to his country. He is survived by six children and his widow, whose maiden name was Jeanne d'Arc and who is, in fact, a descendant of the family of the national saint of France.

His last years at home were saddened by apprehension regarding the future of his country and internal discord. He who had been a "militant" and "pledged" writer long before those slogans became fashionable and a camouflage for totalitarian maneuvers, was now a target for vicious attacks by Communists and other groups hostile to the spiritual redemption he recognized. A fighter unafraid, he carried on to the last moment, with humble courage and unyielding defiance, with the same faith and hope he had shown when, in 1941, with the Nazi monster threatening to devour Europe, he wrote to me, in a letter from Brazil: "Sometimes I wonder if I am not working at the bottom of a well. But does it matter? I have the certitude that, sooner or later, the few humble verities we serve in sadness and poverty will be resplendent in opulence and joy. And let us not try to know if we shall live long enough to share with them, if not the opulence, at least the joy."

## Books

### Alger and/or Dickens?

#### SHANNON'S WAY

By A. J. Cronin. Little, Brown. 313p. \$3

And it's no rose-petal-strewn way, at all, at all. Robert Shannon, whom we left entering medical school on the unexpected legacy of his wonderful scalawag of a grandfather (cf. *The Green Years*, either book or film), is now an M.D. But he does not want to practise; he is devoted to research. His stubborn passion for it runs him afoul of the head of the experimental laboratory,

loses him his job in a private hospital (though the personal spleen of a slovenly nurse was the immediate cause), but does lead him to the successful discovery of an influenza antitoxin.

But success is not Robert's—not yet, at any rate. He reaches his scientific goal only to find that an American researcher had beat him to the punch a month or so earlier. However, in the meantime, Robbie has met a young lady medical student, and though she is of an evangelical persuasion and is horrified when she learns he is a Papist, things shape up pretty well toward the end of the book, for they are headed for the altar—only Robbie seems all set to marry her out of the Church.

There this episode ends, for it is an episode, and there are at least ten more books ahead if Shannon's way is to lead to a rounded tale of his life. That

will sound like a threat or a promise depending on whether you like Dr. Cronin at this level. I say at this level, for it strikes me that although all Cronin's stories are of a pattern—that of the hero against the universe, or at least any organized segments of it—this tale is his poorest to date. There is no character in it to compare with Grandfather Gow of *The Green Years*, and even its frank melodrama cannot compare with that of Robbie's earlier years.

The unabashed but convincing sentiment that is part of Dickens' greatness is somehow just missed here, and when it is missed, even if by a hair, it is easy to slip into a *Sink or Swim* variety. I cannot escape the feeling that Dr. Cronin, with all his gifts as a story-teller, is getting perilously close to Alger.

HAROLD C. GARDINER

## Spain—with salt

### THE SPANISH STORY

By Herbert Feis. Knopf. 282p. \$3.50

### THE MASQUERADE IN SPAIN

By Charles Foltz Jr. Houghton Mifflin. 375p. \$4

Light and heat are here shed on the course and meaning of current Spanish history. Written by men with different backgrounds and different points of view, these two books share many of the same faults and the same virtues.

The Feis book is another account of the "neutralizing" of Spain during World War II, other aspects of which have already been presented by Sir Samuel Hoare in his *Complacent Dictator* and Carlton J. H. Hayes in *War-time Mission in Spain*. Beginning with the fall of Alfonso XIII, Charles Foltz traces the course of events through the year 1945, at which time he returned to the United States after spending most of the period in Europe as a correspondent for the Associated Press.

Mr. Feis is an economist who served as Economic Adviser in the Department of State from 1931 to 1944, and was organizer and first chairman of the Iberian Peninsula Operating Committee. He makes available for the first time much valuable new material for the future student of history. Not only was he himself involved in much of the forming of our economic policies toward Spain during this critical time, but he has been able to consult many of the documents and diaries captured from the Axis Powers, and thus to present what he calls "The Other Wing of the Mirror."

While the Allies' Ambassadors knew that they were working in the dark as to the actual agreements Franco made with Hitler and Mussolini and as to the actual availability of such vital materials as petroleum and wolfram, the reader finds here a means of judging how far their estimates varied from the true situation. In any event, the British belief that Franco would not go to war on the side of the Axis so long as there was any danger in doing so, was borne out by the turn of events.

In speaking of the economic plight in which Spain found herself in 1939, Feis says:

Coal seams cannot be broken down by police standing in the entrance to the mines; broken locomotives and trucks cannot be made to run by the dirty grease of oratory; cot-

ton mills cannot spin threats. These things the ministries under Franco began to find out.

Some one hundred and fifty pages later, in discussing the setting of quotas for shipments of oil to Spain, he says:

But at the American end confusion reigned. Besides the State Department, the Board of Economic Warfare, the Navy, the Treasury, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Office of Strategic Services, the Petroleum Administrator for War, and the War Production Board were all concerned in one way or another with the Spanish program. Closely joined judgment and action within and between all these branches of the Government were needed. But it did not exist. No one was in charge of the whole.

There is, perhaps, an unconscious parallel here of what happens to the economic life of a nation when its government attempts, for whatever reasons, to take full charge.

A quotation from Byron's *Don Juan*, "And after all, what is a lie? 'Tis but the truth in masquerade," gives the key to Charles Foltz Jr.'s choice of *The Masquerade in Spain* as the title for his account of current events in Spain from April, 1931, through December, 1945. A trained journalist, Foltz records here the tangled skeins of Spanish politics from the fall of the monarchy, through the tragic life of the Spanish Republic, to the present precarious dictatorship.

Organizing his book as if describing the production of a play, Foltz sets up for author, producer, stage manager and chief villain of the piece, what he calls the Family. The bankers, the industrialists, large landholders, the hierarchy of the Church, and the Society of Jesus, make up this group. Spanish-speaking peoples, in Spain and elsewhere, call them the *gente decente*. In an extraordinary condensation of Spanish history, carrying the reader from prehistoric times to the fall of Spain's last king in 1931, in eight fact-packed pregnant pages, the author demonstrates how, in Moorish times only, Spain knew tolerance, democracy and learning! Ferdinand and Isabella, "Catholic Monarchs" and models for Machiavelli, according to the author, made a nation of the Iberian peninsula and began the dominance of the Family—a dominance which has cut off all freedom, political or economic, from the Spanish people ever since.

The stage thus set, the events and personalities described with charm and detail glow with a curious light. The thoughtful reader is forced to remind himself that the course of Western

European history has, at times, been affected by ideals and ideas other than the cynical struggle for power by individuals and groups.

In his concluding chapter, "Act III . . . As You Like It," Foltz conjectures about the future of Spain and what effect the actions of free countries may have upon her in the years ahead:

The danger of communism does exist in Spain. An intelligent people are impatiently seeking liberty. Because they are intelligent, they would prefer to find liberty through those countries which now enjoy it. If they see that the democracies refuse them help, if, despite publicly expressed distaste, the democracies tolerate the Family regime, then Spain's people may turn reluctantly toward communism.

This sums up his final warning.

Here are two books that should be read by everyone interested in current history. They contain much new factual material. It is unfortunate that special pleading makes it advisable that the conclusions of the first be taken *cum grano*, and of the second, *magno cum grano salis*.

THEODORE S. CLEVELAND

### Doping the dark ballot

#### NEGRO VOTERS IN THE U. S.: BALANCE OF POWER.

By Henry Lee Moon. Doubleday. 256p. \$3

The issue of the Negro's political rights will be a major concern of all parties for the balance of the election year. Even in the South, says Henry Lee Moon—public-relations head for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—large-scale voting has come to stay.

Not later than the Presidential election of 1956, Negroes will be voting in all the major Southern cities as freely as they do in Boston or Detroit or San Francisco.

In the nation at large, the Negro vote is obviously strategic—its value was recognized as far back as 1880—owing to its wide diffusion, and the Negro's canny refusal to let himself become the appanage of any one party, despite all blandishments and predictions.

Experience with the two major parties has given the Negro a long and complicated education in political realism. His voting strength has increased, paradoxically enough, as a result of his segregation: the Negro "ghetto" being the apt instrument of the colored quite as well as of the white politician. He



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knows that the Republican Party has been consistently more interested in Northern than in Southern Negro votes, and the party has never yet acted to reduce representation on the basis of the Fourteenth Amendment; yet Democracy's record on civil rights, despite President Truman's great manifesto, still keeps the White House closed to any Southern Presidential candidate (p. 268).

Mr. Moon's competent and well-organized analysis enables the student of this very live factor in U. S. politics to follow its development from the colonial days—when, be it noted, every free Negro had an unquestioned right to vote—through the various vicissitudes which mark the Negro's rise to political power to the present day, when his vote is strategic in 75 congressional districts in eighteen Northern and border States. This rise is in great measure due to sustained and elaborate non-partisan organizations, such as Mr. Moon's own NAACP, with its record of distinguished victories; to the Negro's own social and economic advance, including his greater maturity in the field of labor organization; and, finally, to "grass-roots" political activities in

the local Negro communities, in such centers, for instance, as Detroit, Richmond, Va., or New York.

The Richmond story is particularly instructive as showing that intelligent and truly civic-minded Negro political activity can gain white friends and support, even in supposedly unfavorable surroundings. Says the writer:

Nothing so fully demonstrates the political maturity of the masses of Negro voters as their high consistency in support of progressive candidates. . . . Time was when the politician believed that he could buy the Negro vote with money or liquor or false promises. This certainly is no longer true in the overall picture.

Discussing communism as a factor in the Negro's political evolution, Mr. Moon has some disparaging things to say about the CP and its primary concern with the "interests of the Kremlin." But he sounds some conventional party notes, and comes to the Party's rescue, apparently, when he mysteriously observes that, among the Negroes, the "censorious critics" of the Party "are not truly representative." Since many of the same "censorious critics"—frankly anti-Communist Negroes—

are highly lauded elsewhere in the same book and chapter, one is somewhat puzzled as to what is Mr. Moon's real stand.

The work concludes with an excellent summary of "what the Negro wants," and a couple of first-class statistical tables. It is recommended to all political analysts. JOHN LAFARGE

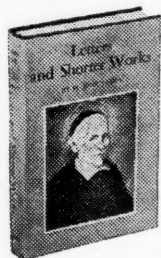
## The Word

### PILLARS OF OUR FAITH

21. *From heaven.* The first two questions ever put to mankind remained unanswered, and one at least is still pending. According to Holy Scripture, the devil very cunningly put the first. It was a "Why?" "Why hath God commanded you that you should not eat of every tree in Paradise?" Of course, no answer was given to the query, and our theologians prove conclusively that God alone can solve the problem. No creature can snatch the keys of the divine purpose.

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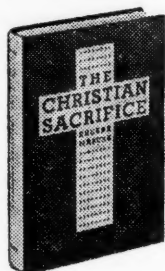
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Himself, "walking in paradise at the afternoon air." It sounded rather commonplace: "Where art thou?" But man demurred. No answer was forthcoming. And up to the present time, for the great majority of men, no answer is possible. Where are you? Of course, you may reply that you are in New York, and that New York is somewhere in America, and America somewhere on the earth, and the earth somewhere in space. But space itself? Nowhere. Strictly speaking, even our bodies are nowhere; and when we try to know the whereabouts of our souls, we are unable to give any direction. To make

matters worse, we seem quite unconcerned with this impossibility of giving any address. Nevertheless, the question is of paramount importance. Our soul must have a kind of home, a roof, a shelter or a nest. If we are nowhere, we are lost.

"Where art thou?" St. Paul himself had already tackled that problem, and declared boldly that "we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in heaven" (2 Cor. 5:1). He says elsewhere that our "citizenship" (*politeuma*, in Greek) is in heaven (Phil. 3:20). An anonymous Christian, writing in the second century

to the pagan Diognetes, affirms calmly that the faithful *walk* on earth but *dwell* in heaven. Surely that is a bold assertion, and it seems that the problem becomes deeper. Instead of being nowhere, we are now confronted with the awkward situation of being in two different places at the same time. Heaven, we think, is far, very far, from earth. How can we span the gulf? We must find some device, if there is any, to do so.

The solution is not far-fetched. Let us go back to the words of our Creed, "*descendit de coelis*": He came down from heaven. And, if we don't know what heaven means, let us turn to any little Christian child. It would answer without flinching: "Heaven is where God abides." Christ, coming down, brought heaven to earth, and this earthly heaven bears a name to distinguish it from the heaven above. We call it "the Church." The Church is the home of our soul, our eternal nest, our beehive, our sheepfold; and not even death could compel us to migrate from the Church. In the Old Testament, the chosen people were under the protection of God, and, of course, it is something to walk in the shadow of God and to worship Him in the temple of His glory. The sons of Abraham were the people of God, but God was not one of their people. With the Word made flesh, with Christ coming down from heaven, everything was changed, from top to bottom. God Himself had bridged the gulf. The Church began in Bethlehem and in Nazareth. Nazareth has since been enormously enlarged, but it remains just the same—the home where God dwells with His family; where the Blessed Virgin is still busy drawing the water of grace from the well; where St. Joseph is still the guardian, the protector; where Christ works with men and for men; the true anteroom of the glorious heavenly Jerusalem.

"Where art thou?" In order to answer, we must first know where God is, because our spiritual location must be related to our Maker and Redeemer. And we know, through our faith, that God is with us on earth and that we may keep together earth and heaven, nature and grace; and rest peacefully in our home "built by God." To the dreadful question, "Where art thou?" nobody can answer unless he be a Catholic, a member of the one true Church; and then the answer is very plain: "Where? I am with Thee, in Thy arms." PIERRE CHARLES, S.J.

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## MEDITATIONS FOR EVERYMAN

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## Theatre

**SECESSION.** Several months before the Dixiecrats bolted from the Democratic National Convention, the management of the National Theatre, in Washington, D. C., in effect seceded from the legitimate stage. Both secessions were caused by a conflict of opinions over the issue of civil rights. After simmering for more than a year, the latter issue reached a crisis when Actors Equity, supported by the foremost American playwrights, voted that Equity members would not be permitted to appear in The National while the management continued its practice of excluding Negroes from the audience. Equity contended that it was a mockery of democracy for a theatre in the nation's capital to flaunt racism in the face of a State Department that was trying to sell the United States to world opinion as the champion and defender of democracy. The management was given a reasonable time, until June, 1948, to change its policy.

The management flatly refused and, as a result, The National is being converted into a motion-picture house. A road company of *Oklahoma* is booked in the theatre at present. When that production departs, Washington will become a cultural freak, a world capital without a legitimate theatre where a foreign diplomat can enjoy an evening of drama.

The responsibility for reducing Washington to the cultural level of a provincial town in Andalusia rests on the intransigence of the management. Equity has a clear moral case that is also supported by the political principles stated in the Declaration of Independence and written into the Constitution. As Washington is one of the best road towns in the country, from a box-office point of view, the actors who voted not to perform in The National disclosed a willingness to subordinate their material interests to their ideals. The elision of the theatre from the road tour of a production means fewer weekly pay checks for performers and reduced royalties for the playwrights allied with them.

No such disposition toward sacrifice, or even spirit of cooperation, has been shown by the management. With an arrogance usually more typical of bigots than of men associated with the arts, even in a commercial capacity, the management has not bothered to give

public opinion the decent respect it is normally accorded in a civilized community. Asserting that white people will not patronize The National if Negroes are admitted to the audience, the management simply refuses to budge.

It is granted that an effort to enforce the principles advocated by Equity might encounter some difficulty. Every step toward progress must be made in the face of opposition. But opposition to non-segregated theatres may be weaker and less extensive than is usually assumed. Negroes are admitted to Catholic University Theatre, and it has not been reported that the box office has suffered. The management of The National refuses to experiment or try to educate the prejudiced element of the public in democracy in the arts. Rather than share the pleasures and satisfactions of drama with all who can appreciate them, the men who control the theatre prefer to deprive all the people in the city of stage performances. It is providential that they are unable to put a fence around the sunset.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

## Films

**KEY LARGO.** Maxwell Anderson's thoughtful and poetic drama of several seasons ago told of a Spanish Civil War veteran who had deserted his platoon when he found the cause not worth fighting for, and was seeking some way to allay his self-accusations of cowardice. When the family of his fallen comrade were menaced by a gangster and his henchmen (clearly symbolic of dictatorship), he found a reason to renew his fight against oppression, even though it cost him his life. Except for a "happy" ending, the movie version retains this basic outline along with the Florida Keys setting and some of the trappings of a parable—for example, the death of two innocent men occurring under circumstances which highlight the tragic dilemmas imposed on ordinary citizens by tyranny, and a raging hurricane which terrifies the gangster because it is one opponent

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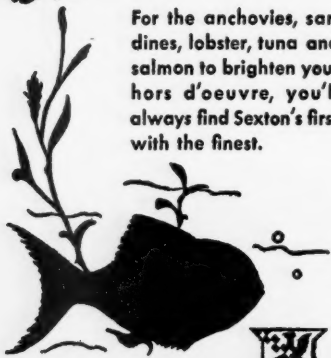
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against which he cannot load the dice. In the main, however, the picture resolves itself into a melodramatic struggle between Humphrey Bogart—who, despite some effort to show him "looking too precisely on the event" personifies the resourceful, sardonic man of action—and Edward G. Robinson as the reincarnated Little Caesar. On this level it is extremely effective, with flavorsome writing, full-bodied characterizations and capable direction combining to make for eminently satisfying if only mildly provocative adult entertainment. (Warner Brothers)

DEEP WATERS. The trouble with the average "decent, wholesome family picture" is that its plot is so baldly contrived, and the supposedly ordinary people with whom it deals are so prone to do outrageous things with little provocation that on even the most cursory analysis it proves to be far less wholesome than its advocates seem to think. On its own merits, this story of the rehabilitation of a bewildered and potentially delinquent young orphan lad (Dean Stockwell) rates applause for its generally affecting, humorous and well-balanced portrayal of life in a Maine fishing village. As an antidote for some recent juvenile tear-jerkers it rates a place even higher on the preferred family entertainment list than its fundamental honesty, careful production and talented cast (Dana Andrews, Cesar Romero, Anne Revere, etc.) would ordinarily accord it. (20th Century-Fox)

SO EVIL MY LOVE. As any anthology of true crime stories will attest, there is a great fascination about sheltered, apparently respectable Victorian ladies who take to murder. This joint Anglo-American production dramatizes one such case for the benefit of adults who are not overly squeamish. The story of a missionary's widow (Anne Todd), whose infatuation for a well-bred scoundrel (Ray Milland) leads her to blackmail her only friend (Geraldine Fitzgerald) and finally to commit murder and callously cast suspicion on someone

else, hardly fulfills the requirements of a credible, well-knit piece of fiction. However, assuming the truth of the film's claim to being based on fact, the coincidences and the sheer stupidity of the two evil-doers fade into the background, leaving the center of the stage to some authentic period atmosphere, a well-documented study of character disintegration and an ironic, poetically just denouement. (Paramount)

THE VICIOUS CIRCLE is based on an actual Hungarian court case of some sixty years ago in which five Jews were tried for and ultimately vindicated of a murder for which they were framed by a bigoted and greedy landowner. This material, with its potentiality for giving historical perspective to the current evil of anti-Semitism, as well as for recording a judicial triumph for the underdog, could have been fashioned into a film to rank with *The Life of Emile Zola* and *Boomerang*. The direction, however, is so lacking in variety and dramatic insight that the result is merely a bewildering, static and disjointed series of courtroom impressions from which only the most patient and perceptive adult will be able to assimilate its intended salutary instruction. (United Artists) MOIRA WALSH

## Parade

THE DIFFICULTY MAN EXPERIENCES in controlling animal life was demonstrated by the news. . . . During the week, dumb beasts kept police stepping lively. . . . Over a Los Angeles station-house telephone came a woman's voice, pleading: "Help, help." Seven policemen leaped into patrol cars, swooped down on the designated house, found the woman standing on a chair, pointing and screaming: "There's a mouse! There's a mouse!" . . . A creepy, eerie atmosphere was reported. . . . In St. Paul, Minn., at 3 A. M., a frightened husband telephoned a station house, reported the family piano had been playing all night most mysteriously without benefit of human hands. Police tore to the spot, pulled open the keyboard cover. Out jumped a mouse. . . . Beasts proved difficult all over the social milieu. . . . In Portland, Me., traffic was snarled while officers chased a deer through the crowded business

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section. The deer finally dashed into a five-and-ten store, leaped behind the soda-fountain counter, where it was bagged. . . . In Philadelphia, a family had to visit a restaurant for their evening meal because a rabbit made their gas range unavailable. The rabbit, brought home by Kilroy, the family cat, got stuck inside the range. . . . There were even international complications. . . . Eight hundred miles from England, the Captain of the *Aquitania* radioed London that a dead American potato-bug had been found on the ship's bridge. When the liner with the dead bug on board docked at Southampton, a Ministry of Agriculture bug expert confiscated the animal. Potato-bugs, dead or alive, are prohibited from entering England. . . . Dogs were troublesome. . . . A Stockholm, Minn., farm-hand, annoyed by a barking dog, shouldered a gun, went into the night, tripped. The discharge from the gun set off dynamite in a pit. The ensuing blast ripped the clothes from the farm-hand, knocked a machine-shed from its foundations, broke all the windows on the farm. The farm-hand landed in a hospital; the dog continued barking. . . . Pets turned on owners. . . . An eleven-year-old New Jersey girl was bitten in the face, neck and arms by the little family dog. . . . Bears were mean. . . . A twelve-year-old Michigan boy drew too close to a bear's cage. The bear chewed the boy's arm off.

That man today experiences difficulty in controlling brute beasts is man's own fault. . . . God intended things to be different. . . . He gave Adam effortless mastery over all animal life. . . . In the Garden of Eden, there were no cages for animals. . . . Before the Fall, there were no wild animals. . . . No bear chewed Adam's arm off. . . . No mouse made Eve scream. . . . Sin changed the face of the earth. . . . Man rebelled against God, and all nature rebelled against man. . . . Man's own lower passions rebelled, and thus, instead of the easy domination of these passions that he would, except for the Fall, possess today, he must now ceaselessly battle to tame them. . . . With God's grace, however, he can always win this battle. . . . Distressing as the picture is, it could be worse. . . . Though he cannot now live in the Garden of Eden, man, unlike the fallen angels, can attain something incomparably greater. . . . Every human being in the world today can, if he so will, spend his eternity in the garden where God dwells. JOHN A. TOOMEY

# Correspondence

## Indelicacy deplored

EDITOR: This may seem a bit presumptuous, but I must inform you that I was shocked and disgusted with the first heading on page 317 of the July 10th issue.

It doesn't seem appropriate or necessary for a magazine such as *AMERICA* to resort to such a line as "Tito spits in Stalin's eye." As a subscriber for twenty-five years I must register my disapproval.

MRS. ANDREW E. REILLY  
West Hartford, Conn.

## Placating Protestants

EDITOR: The average American Protestant thinks that the Church is just marking time in this country until she can win control over the secular power. Maybe if someone told anxious Protestants that the Church, forcibly separated from the secular arm, has found out that she functions better without it, they would be relieved.

If the average American Protestant read the conclusions of Father Murray, as reported in your editorial, "Governments and heresy" (July 10), he might disabuse his mind of the fear. But who reads the findings of the Catholic Theological Society? Certainly not all the people who should. If everyone who needed to read *AMERICA* did so, your circulation figures would exceed those of *Life*. A fitting slogan might be: "Buy *Life* if you must, but take *AMERICA* as an antidote."

ELIZABETH G. LAMB  
New York, N. Y.

## Catholic films and radio

EDITOR: I am interested in the article, "Our needs in films and radio" (*AMERICA*, June 12, 1948). Where are our Catholic films? Try to secure them.

There is a brochure published by the Catholic Department of Education, of Films Inc., 330 West 22nd Street, New York, with offices in Chicago, Dallas, Atlanta, Los Angeles and Portland, Oregon. One panel reads: "To establish an educational program for exhibition of motion pictures in Catholic schools and organizations, the Catholic Department of Visual Education is dedicated to the following objectives":

a) Cooperation with schools and colleges in the training of Catholic

youth to rationalize and test moral issues and philosophies as expounded in motion pictures;

b) Assistance to teachers and directors of Catholic organizations in the establishment of motion picture programs correlated with study courses or for entertainment purposes.

To "rationalize and test moral issues" this program offers *Saps at Sea*, which is clean but hardly elevating; *The Road to Morocco*, well supplied with scenes from harems; *In Old Chicago*, which is so full of bedroom incidents that one nun who accepted the recommendation and used it had to stop it halfway; *Gamblers' Choice*, *The Night Before the Divorce*, *Honeymoon in Bali*, *Rings on Her Fingers*, *Sailor's Lady*, *Paris Honeymoon*, *Free, Blonde and 21*, and *Queen of the Mob*.

ARTHUR J. KNOWLES  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

EDITOR: Though I've been connected with the stage and screen most of my life, I must say that I had no idea of the 16mm. field, nor of the growth of religious films, nor of most of the facts mentioned in Mr. Duffy's article. *Mea culpa!*

Hollywood, Calif. UNA O'CONNOR

## Loving the liturgy

EDITOR: There is no better way to know Christ, and learn how to be one with Him, than through the daily intelligent offering of the Mass.

Once you have known the good "family" sense of being at home at Mass in your Father's house, the knowledge of the meaning and power of the Sacrifice becomes priceless.

Most often the reason why Catholics don't understand and love the Mass, why they see nothing wrong about being present for only half of it, why even missing Mass once in a while doesn't seem very important, is simply because priests apparently think the Mass is their own property and possession. Too often the priest does not seem to care about *sharing* the Mass—*sharing* the knowledge of its meaning and power. Too many of them, it would seem, consider the Mass just a daily routine, if one may judge by the way they rattle off the prayers and grow careless about the beautiful ceremonies.

Perryville, Mo. MARY FRIoux

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